COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

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March 5, 1974

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| Dear | |
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At the present time of flux in Soviet-American relations and of uncertain prospects in Europe and in the Middle East, the importance of the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean region (roughly defined as Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and surrounding seas) should be self-evident. But when it comes to defining what that importance is and where the region fits into present and future strategies and interests of the United States and other powers, nothing is self-evident. In fact there is a good deal of confusion -about where commitments run and how seriously they are to be taken, about the Soviet-American detente-cum-competition and naval rivalry in the Mediterranean. about internal crises in Yugoslavia, Greece or other countries which could invite outside intervention or explode across frontiers, and many other matters. We need to take a fresh look at the area and at existing U.S. policies, and perhaps also to seek some new perspectives. Accordingly, the Council on Foreign Relations has decided to undertake a study centered on this region. Raymond A. Hare, former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Turkey, has agreed to serve as chairman. On behalf of Ambassador Hare, I am pleased to extend to you a cordial invitation to be a member of the group. It is not easy to find individuals with the right combination of interest and experience in this area, and your contribution to the discussions will be greatly appreciated.

As the one who will be responsible for the study, I look forward to having the benefit of your advice as we proceed. It might be useful to sketch out here, in a few sentences, the ground to be covered and the problems the group will be discussing. We shall look at political and security questions, including Soviet aims and strategy and the role of NATO. We shall wish to devote much of our attention to how, in an era of croding alliances, the Balkan and Mediterranean countries are related to the progress of detente in Europe and the settlement or non-settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We shall not overlook economic factors, particularly the increasing weight of the European Economic Community in all these countries and the differences between European and American policies. We shall also examine the forces at work within and between those countries, including the trends toward regional cooperation and growing independence from great-power connections. This is a large order and we will not discover all the answers. It will be a significant net gain if the group does no more than reassess and clarify American policies toward Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Greece.

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We plan to have an initial meeting on Tuesday, April 16th at the Harold Pratt House, starting at 5:00 p.m. (with tea at 4:45) and continuing through dinner. At that meeting we shall first discuss the general scope of our future work and then proceed to a consideration of recent political developments in Greece and Turkey. Professor Harry J. Psomiades of Brooklyn College (of the City University of New York) will introduce our discussion on Greece.

We may have a second meeting this spring and several more next fall and winter. There is no intention of seeking any group consensus or agreed recommendations on U.S. policy. During the course of the project I shall be writing articles or other published work on one or another aspect of the subject, and plan the eventual publication of a Council book.

I hope very much you will find it possible to join this study group, and, if so, that we may expect you on April 16th.

Please let me know on both counts at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

John C. Campbell Senior Research Fellow

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